1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

and guards her so that none may see her... she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head...."[45] De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely see their eyes."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times. Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[45] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., O.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1656, p. 202.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death, but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

WOMEN'S NIGHT

The twelfth night is reserved for the women to relate their visions; but before they begin, the speaker orders the attendants to burn cedar-leaves in the two fires, and the people are supposed to inhale the smoke and purify themselves. Then two women are ordered to take, one a little bark dish (*a"sipta'gän*) of red paint (fig. 13), the other a similar

FIG. 13.—Paint-dish of bark, used at the Annual Ceremony. (Length, 2.2 in.)

vessel of grease, and the two start from the door on the north side of the Temple and go to each person present. One dips her fingers in the paint and touches the color to the person's left cheek, while her companion similarly annoints the person's head with a little of the grease. This done, two men attendants take the bark vessels and paint and grease in the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7.
Lenape

none of it could be taken outside during the ceremony.

Purification.—When the two fires had been built, but before the crowd had gathered, the house was purified by the smoke of hemlock boughs thrown on the flames, and by sweeping the floor with turkey-wing fans, which cleared away both dirt and evil influences.

OPENING OF THE CEREMONY

Chief's Speech.—The next step was for the attendants to call in all the people from their camps except the women in their menses who were not allowed to enter. When all were seated, the speaker rose and addressed those assembled in terms like the following:

"We are now gathered here, our house is purified and clean, and Pa"tămawas is with us, ready to hear our worship. We must thank Him for all the things that we enjoy, for He made them every one." Then he proceeded to tell the people not to drink liquor, nor to do anything wrong in the Big House or in

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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"They kept annual feasts:—. . . a feast of first fruits which they do not permit themselves to taste until they have made an offering of them to the manitu-oo-al, or gods; . . . There is one of the greatest sacrifice offerings of our forefathers every six months for cleansing themselves from sin; they will have twelve deers to be consumed in one day and night. At the great feast of the offerings of the first fruits of the earth, which feast the Delawares or Munceys hold annually, they brought a little of all that they raised, such as Indian corn, or hweisk-queem, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, together with the deer. The Indian women were busily engaged in cooking their provisions, previous to the commencement of their exercises. They invited all strangers into a long pagan temple prepared for such purposes, there is a door at each end—one opening to the east, and one opening to the west. On entering, they with all the Indians were seated on the ground around two fires; in the center of the temple was a large post, around which was suspended a number of deer skins, and wampum is kept buried at the foot of this post. Near the post sat two Indian singers, each with a large bundle of undressed deer skins which served as drums. There were two young men appointed to watch the doors and keep the fires burning, the doors being closed. Each of the young men brought an armful of hemlock boughs, which being thrown

6;Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

on the fires smothered them and caused a great smoke. In order that the smoke might fill every corner of the temple, each man waved his blanket over the fire; this was done with the idea of purifying the temple and driving out the evil spirits. After the smoke had subsided, the master of ceremonies, an old chief, rose and began to rattle a turtle shell he had in his hand. He delivered a speech to the people telling them the object of the meeting was to thank the great spirit for the growth and ripening of the corn. When he finished his speech he began to dance, sing and rattle the shell, the two singers joining in, beating on their skins. When he took his seat he handed the shell to the next person, who performed in the same way, thus it went from one to the other all night. The purport of their speeches was to recount the mercies of the Great Spirit to them during the past year, and telling any remarkable dreams that they had had. In the course of the night a number of them went out the west door, making a wailing noise to the moon, and came in again the east door. In the morning the meat and soup were divided amongst the people.

"These feasts often lasted twelve days and twelve nights, and the Indians call it nee-shaw-neechk-togho-quanoo-maun, or ween-da-much-teen. No drinking or improper conduct is allowed. The utmost solemnity prevails."

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7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaqqo'xuv*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)

[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
788 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

788 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

788 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
● 783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being. 776

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783] from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781] to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787] dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [788] to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down. 776 773

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations. 776

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Delawares determine, by the position of the stars, when to gather herbs for medicine, for they believe that the position of the stars and the moon informs them when the medical properties of the herb may be found in the branches or in the roots. The time to plant crops in the spring was likewise determined by the phases of the moon and the position of the stars. At a certain time when the moon and stars are in the correct relation to each other the Delawares know that the wild animals breed and that fish go up-stream. Persons born under certain changes of the moon are said to be affected by certain periodic diseases such as epilepsy and fits. The gathering of material for the making of baskets depends upon the time of year. In order that hides be made into durable leather the animals must be killed at the right time of year. The same is true in regard to killing hogs, for unless the animals are killed in the right quarter of the moon the meat will not keep. Likewise fruit, according to the Delaware must be picked at a certain phase of the moon or else it will rot. Celestial phenomena, the manitu of the skies, rule numerous phases of Delaware life.

THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND DEFILEMENT.—It is most interesting to note a distinct attitude of reverence toward the phenomena of nature which are uncontaminated by the mechanistic hand of man. Nature itself is denoted by a term which may be recognized universally as an accepted definition: te'kəneɔ'sːu, "wild life, creation" in the liberal sense. This refers to creatures and phenomena brought into existence and controlled by the power of the Great Spirit. From nature's category the products of human invention are excluded. Thus it is the realm of pure nature with which the Delaware fundamentalist finds himself in accord. It supplies his needs, it satisfies his emotions, engages spiritual concern, becoming literally the element in which his whole life is framed. To deviate from the processes of nature, in thought and act, is sacrilege to him, to limit himself to its sphere is a sacred obligation passed down to him from his forefathers barring him off from the hazards of change and alteration in his conduct of life, and particularly in the performance of his religious duties. The Delaware fundamentalist is truly a conservative. By the mandates of his own creed he ought to be indeed a reactionary. And similar sentiment seems forthcoming from other Algonkian doctrinaries, hence we may assume it to be an ancient property of the race. Its lament is the necessity to depart from the ancient nature-bound practices, through the measure of force exerted by changes which age and time bring about.[1]

[1] This characteristic is often likened by them to the precepts of Christ, to whose example they refer with sympathy, and with the conviction that they are by nature his followers.

10: Speck E-4,5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'tai·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau's·uwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi·.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Not only are wild animals pure in contrast with domestic brutes in the sense embraced by the term, but youths who have completed the puberty vigil and acquired their guardian spirit are also pi·'lsi·t, "clean, uncontaminated, spiritually purified," as opposed to those who have not. For instance one of the signs denoting the transition from pre-adolescence in boys to the "purity of manhood" is in the voice. They say that the youth is expected to remain in solitude during his vigil until his voice has changed completely, by which time he is then pi·'lsi·t. It will be noticed also that the term is applied to fire made by the pump-drill at the Big House ceremony, pi·'lsi·t' ta'·n·da', "clean fire," the unadulterated new fire made without matches or other unclean materials; the latter being cewa'·n·akwi· ta'·n·da', "white man's fire," or mat·a pi·'ltak, "not pure." The sacred character of pure fire is shown in its honorific synonym muχo'·mson·a, "our grandfather," the source of healing.

Spiritual purity, however, is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather (like the Hebraic takor) through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[1] Foremost among these are the restrictions placed upon the freedom of women in their catamenial periods, and the carrying out of dietary usages based upon the classification of animals as clean and unclean. Another evidence of the individual being spiritually pure is to have been blessed with a vision bestowed by a supernatural power. Such individuals are pi·'lsi· in a high degree. They are indeed the mainstays of the Big House ceremony. They are in blessed communion with the man·i't·u, bringing into the Big House their spiritual media, the controls under which their destinies are moulded. Again to be pi·'lsi· is to have gone through all the native teachings. And to live with a guileless character, child-like, is sufficient to entitle a man or woman (irrespective of marriage or celibacy) to be referred to as pi·'lsi·t lən'·o "pure, clean, man," or pi·'lsi·t xkwe'', "pure, clean, woman," as a child is pi·'lsi·t mi·'mas. The above may serve to outline at least the Delaware concept of personal holiness and unholiness as it is expounded in the text.

BEING BLESSED WITH A VISION. THE PERFORMERS IN THE CEREMONY. The main active parts in the ceremony are performed by those who have been blessed with revelations by spiritual-forces, the man·i't·u. These are the pure men, and also in a minor rôle, the pure women. The word element aŋg'o[a] seems to be the generic designation for the condition of being blessed with a spiritual revelation through a vision. By this is meant the visitation from some man·i't·u coming at some period in the life of the individual who is spiritually deserving from the point of view of his reverence for spiritual forces for his observance of the arbitrary rulings of religious doctrine, and adherence to logically

[1] A taboo is denoted by the term kwul·a·'gan, "something forbidden."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'xing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

informants. He choses to regard this rite as another form of the annual ceremony, and supposes this to have been a tribal variation arising through the incorporation of alien features at the instigation of Munsee or Nanticoke adopted by the Delawares.[1] Zeisberger has an account referring to a sweating ceremony of a similar nature to that described by Harrington. The designation applied to it by Zeisberger is "machtuxin",[2] which he rendered "to perspire."

Wi·tapano'xwe secured the following description of the sweating-ceremony from aged living Indians in the Nation on the occasion of his visit home in 1929, and I give it as a supplement to what has already been published by others concerning it;

"The sweat-house performance does not belong to the regular annual ceremony of the Big House although it was formerly held in the Big House. It was a distinct ceremony lasting eight days held by the tribe when it was living in Kansas, before they moved to their present location in Oklahoma in 1867. When this ceremony was first held it was meant to determine who could withstand the greatest punishment by heat and steam. A large wigwam made of twelve poles bent together at the top and covered with hides. Opposite the door a number of pieces of wood and bark are arranged so that the wigwam will not catch fire. During the eight days of the ceremony hot rocks are placed in the wigwam and twelve men, each having had a vision so receiving supernatural power, are selected from the tribe to enter the wigwam where they sing their songs. Many of the men in the trial become weak and succumb to the heat while others withstand the punishment until the last man has finished his song. These men are always considered as being medicine men or healers. The ceremony is held just before sun set.

"The Lenape or Delawares are looked upon as the doctors and an older tribe, in fact as the "grandfathers" of all other tribes. The Indian doctors are known as *ma-ta-en·no* (mət·e'i·nu) meaning a man who possesses supernatural healing power. Some times these men are warriors as well as healers."

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[1] Harrington I, pp. 122-6.

[2] Zeisberger, p. 138-9. This verb denoting dancing of ceremonial character appears as machtoga, probably the Munsee form (Brinton, p. 69) meaning "to perspire" being a symbolical dance held in honor of the "grandfather," fire. The number twelve appeared as an allegory in the dance. maxta'ken (machtogen, Brinton, Lenape Dict., p. 69) "to fight" is probably the Munsee related form, while Mohegan-Pequot, mata'ga "dance" evidently rounds out the evidence that it denoted among the early eastern Algonkian a superior dance performance associated with fire, struggle, and purification by sweating, and war preparation.

The term machtuxin given by Zeisberger seems to be a shortened equivalent, maχtuw'ingw, of the expression muχk'χəltuw'ingw, "staying until one is sweated red." Both terms are intelligible to the speakers of the Delaware language today. Lindeström (1654-6) describes the sweat-bath in familiar terms (A. Johnson, Geographia Americae, 1925, p. 257).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work.

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called neupi'kees "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also -mete'i-nu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'las-u webendji-kan'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naka, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nutc, awe'nutc of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxk) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

shippers in the Big House, to clear the way for them to proceed, during the ceremony as well as through life, without the impediments of witchcraft and sickness, to the abode of the Creator. The feathers of the "pure, clean" birds possess the power to sweep away spiritual pollution, for which reason they are used by the Delawares, as well as other tribes as ornaments, as fans, and as brushes.

[4] This is the ceremonial designation of the hard-beaten path around the two fires in the Big House which the dancers traverse. A discussion of this religious concept has been given (p. 23). The reference to cleansing this path bears upon the duty of the Attendants to sweep it clean with the feather brushes or fans.

ing-up for the ceremony, because anyone who earnestly prays in worship to even the deer[1] and the antelope[2] as well as the bison[3] or any

[1] The Virginia deer (Odocoileus virginianus) designated axtu' in Delaware; related terms occurring for the animal in the Algonkian languages everywhere south of the Great Lakes. North of the Great Lakes where the caribou occurs as a competitive game animal the usual term is applied to it, and the deer acquires the name, wawa'ckec, or a variant.

[2] Literally, "white rump," descriptive of the appearance of the romp of the American pronghorn (Antilocapra americana) when startled by danger. "Another characteristic of these interesting animals is a conspicuous rump patch composed of white hairs which are longer than those elsewhere on the animal's back. Through developments in the skin muscles the pronghorn at times of excitement has the power to erect these white hairs until they stand out stiffly over the rump, forming a great dazzling white rosette, like a giant chrysanthemum, which, when the animal is dashing away across the plains in the bright sunlight, is extraordinarily conspicuous. The writer has many times discovered bands of antelope running on the open plains where but for these heliographic patches they would have been beyond ordinary eyesight. These long rump hairs lie like other hairs on the skin and give little indication of their strikingly conspicuous appearance until the animal suddenly throws them up into action." (E. W. Nelson, U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bull. No. 1346, 1925, quoted by H. E. Anthony, Field Book of N. American Mammals, New York, 1928).

[3] The term is, si-si-'li-ye. This name has been analyzed to mean, "the animal that butts against and breaks to pieces" (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 132, the form sisilija being given). (Note, the orthography of the original manuscript is German, hence j equals y). The animal designated here was originally the Eastern Bison (Bison b. pennsylvanicus, (Shoemaker)) becoming extinct in Pennsylvania about 1800 (H. W. Shoemaker, "A Pennsylvania Bison Hunt, Middleburg, Pa., 1915). Col. Shoemaker, who described the sub-species, ascribes to it a larger frame and darker coloration than the Plains Bison, with some white about the nose and eyes, and lacking the hump! (Anthony, op. cit. p. 539). That the Eastern Bison was known to the Delawares of ancient times as far east as New Jersey, although the animal itself did not range east of the Blue Ridge, is evidenced by the occurrence of a cognate term in the Delaware vocabulary (1793) attributed to Thomas Jefferson (Archives of the American Philosophical Society), recorded while the tribe resided in New Jersey;—sisiliamuus. (See also Account of Gabriel Thomas (1698), in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, Ed. by Albert Cook Myers, 1912) p. 323.) Brinton, (Lenape and their Legends, p. 226) attempts an etymology of the term, referring the termination *muus* to any large quadruped (*mos*, elk, cow, applied only to deer and elk by Anthony, Brinton's Munsee collaborator. (Lenape Dict. p. 86).

Although the eastern American elk, or wapiti, is not mentioned here in our text we learn of its being known to the Delawares under the designation, lon-l-'mus, "common elk." The actual moose (Alces americana) seems only to have been known to the tribe after its migration. Zeisberger (pp. 58-9) devotes several paragraphs to the bison and elk of the Delaware country in Ohio in the last half of the 18th century.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

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[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuɔk', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ't.am "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kəl.əkan.i'k.an has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

EIGHTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The usual performance is repeated.]

VI

NINTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

"Now Attendants, you understand by the rules of this teaching, that you keep in mind each of and all of you, that a person must act in purity.[1] All of us have heard the regulations of the past of our deceased ancestors. They said, according to tradition, that a clean pure person shall kindle fire. Because when using those fire-making spirit-forces, if the person should fail to make fire it would clearly seem a fact that he who tries to make fire is not clean. Nevertheless my brothers everything is easy when correctly done. Now you understand that you shall purify these two places where the fire always is. All the ashes shall be carried out there through the sun-set door that is so intended for it, and when we have finished the ceremony the Bringer-in goes out through it. Such is the rule for everybody in this our prayer-worship.

I am thankful, my kindred, I can address you with respect.[2] I am truly well pleased when I can extend to you[2] all every token of high respect and esteem. Now, my kindred, we have lived on to the point where we are cleaning this fire here in our ceremonial House.[3] I am indeed thankful that we have come so far in good health as this evening comes on, because this night we know how we have seen our deceased aged people perform, those who so thoroughly carried out the teachings and the strict rules of procedure.

And, my kindred, everyone who owns turtle-rattles should bring them with him when coming into the Big House. And right here where sits the Bringer-in, right opposite that place they should put them in a straight line, all those turtle-rattles. And Attendants, you know that you must prepare and make ready everything such as, for instance, those drum sticks,[4] and the cedar, and also that red paint, blood root, and the prayer sticks; everything that is used now on this night must be prepared for certain.

[1] To have been "pure and clean," the Attendants must have refrained during the ceremony period from sexual intercourse, intoxication and the like. They may not enter the Big House to prosecute their duties if they have violated these rules.

[2] ango'ma, the verb used here cannot be rendered by a single equivalent in English so I have been obliged to paraphrase it as it occurs in the text from a choice of equivalents "to show respect for some one, to honor, esteem, invoke a blessing, to greet, to shake hands with."

[3] The importance of fire as a symbol of moral purity and as an emblem of life and health in Delaware philosophy can hardly be over estimated. A short discourse on the symbolism of fire has been given in the introduction and the beliefs outlined there should be recalled with the reading of the sermon that follows.

[4] This refers to both the plain and the carved drum sticks.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [176]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [737 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[176 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
745
716
[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tet	Fla	Gos	Dia	Wic	Cr 1	Cr 2	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wic	Dec 2	Dec 1	Ab S	Kio	Com	Kio	Ute	K-A	Ute	Tet
121. An assistant on each side of leader	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
122. Women sit behind men		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−	−
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
137. Chewed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	+	•	+	+	•	•	−	•	•	+			−	+	+	•	•	+	•	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+	+		•	(−)	−	+	−	−	−	+			−	(−)	+	•	•	+	•	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+

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